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# The *Fanwang jing* (*Scripture of Brahma's Net*) in the First Edition of the Korean Canon: A Preliminary Survey

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## 1. Introduction

In this paper, I will make some observations about special features of the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (*Scripture of Brahma's Net*) in the first edition of the Korean Canon, by using the newly opened graphic data of Tripitaka Koreana Knowledgebase (<http://kb.sutra.re.kr/ritk/index.do>). I hereafter use the abbreviation “KC” for “Korean Canon” (or alternatively Korean Tripitaka, Tripitaka Koreana, 高麗大藏經 Goryeo daejang gyeong/Gaoli dazang jing). The First edition is also called the First Carving 初雕 (chojo/chudiao), i.e., 高麗初雕大藏經.

It goes without saying that the *Fanwang jing* exerted enormous influence on the formation and evolution of the idea of bodhisattva precepts (*pusa jie* 菩薩戒) or Mahāyāna precepts in East Asian Buddhism. The scripture is renowned for its unique theory of the ten *boluoyi* 波羅夷 (*pārājika*) and the forty-eight minor offenses, also called *shi zhong sishiba qing jie* (十重四十八輕戒). “*Boluoyi*” here signifies the most serious ten offenses (transgressions, sins) for bodhisattvas such as intentionally killing other beings.

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**Note from the Editorial Committee:** This paper by Prof. Funayama (the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University) was originally scheduled to appear in ZINBUN no. 44. Due to editorial circumstances, the publication of this issue was postponed from March 2013 until June 2014. Furthermore, as the author suffered an accident in the proofreading stages, we were unable to include his article in ZINBUN no. 44, and are therefore publishing it in the current issue, cordially apologizing to Prof. Funayama and all those concerned for every inconvenience caused by the delay.

**Author's note:** I would like to thank Dr. Eric Greene (UC Berkeley) for his help with stylistic improvement to my English. Also my thanks to Prof. Jinhua Chen (University of British Columbia) and Prof. Wang Ding (Sun Yat-sen University) who gave me important comments on an earlier draft. Needless to say, however, all errors in this paper remain my own responsibility.

There are some different views on the formation of this text, and the most well-known and accepted view was presented by Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨 (1869–1948) who demonstrated that the text was most probably composed in China and it is not a translation by Kumārajīva as recorded in Chinese Buddhist catalogs and canons.<sup>1</sup> Mochizuki's identification of this sūtra as a Chinese “apocryphon” (*weijing* 偽經, *yijing* 疑經) was subsequently supported by scholars such as Ōno Hōdō 大野法道.<sup>2</sup> Based on Mochizuki's suggestion, I have recently attempted to show that the first fascicle (*juan* 卷, scroll) and the second fascicle were written by different authors and that the second fascicle, that containing the teachings of the above-stated bodhisattva precepts, was probably written earlier than the first fascicle, which describes the forty stages of bodhisattva practice.<sup>3</sup> It is almost certain that at least the second fascicle was composed in China during the fifth century.

Further, before the First-edition KC was made available on the website in 2010, I had also focused on the significance of the slightly different recensions of the text and reached the conclusion that there were two main lineages, which below I will call Type  $\alpha$  and Type  $\beta$ .<sup>4</sup> When compared with other texts, the *Scripture of Brahma's Net* has quite a number of variant readings in different canons. In order to classify earlier forms of the text, I made use of not only woodblock print editions but also an old Japanese manuscript copied in mid-eighth century and the Fangshan Stone Sutras 房山石經, the earliest one of which dates back to the beginning of the 8th century or slightly later, as I will mention below. However, only after I had published this research did access to the First-edition KC become possible through the website. Moreover, I have recently noticed that there are two other significant Chinese manuscripts—“#2. Nakamura” and “#4. Beijing”—that I had overlooked in my previous article. Therefore, in this paper, I attempt to explore the unique value of the *Fanwang jing* in the First-edition KC in relation to other notable versions.

Prior to the present research, I have taken up the significance of the First-edition KC by paying special attention to two separate texts. One is the *Jingzhu* 淨住子 by Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494) in the Southern Qi dynasty, the text kept in Daoxuan's 道宣 *Guang hong-ming ji* 廣弘明集 (Taisho no. 2103), fascicle 27.<sup>5</sup> The other text I have referred to in relation to the First-edition KC is entitled *Mulian wen jielu zhong wubai qingzhong shi* 目連問戒律中五百輕重事 (Taisho no. 1483).<sup>6</sup> In my understanding, the First Carving is by and large a very reliable and indispensable source for investigating the original form of any given text.

<sup>1</sup> Mochizuki (1946: 425–484).

<sup>2</sup> Ōno (1954: 252–284).

<sup>3</sup> Funayama (2011).

<sup>4</sup> Funayama (2010).

<sup>5</sup> Funayama (2006a: especially 7, 9–82, 315). This is one of the earliest works that consult the First-edition KC as a philological source for making a critical edition.

<sup>6</sup> Funayama (1998: especially 213, 243, 267–268). See also Funayama (2006b: 42).

However it also sometimes has problems with variant readings and so forth. In the present paper, I will especially take up the case of the *Fanwang jing* and make some provisional observations about the evaluation of this important canon, and I will further point out some particular problems concerning the First Korean edition of this sūtra.

## 2. General observations on the *Fanwang jing* in the First-edition KC

The First-edition KC is tremendously important for understanding the earliest form of the woodblock prints in China, the Kaibao 開寶 edition of the Northern Song dynasty. As is well-known, the First-edition KC usually has the same woodblock format as the Jin 金 edition (mid to late 12th cent.) because both are *fuke* 覆刻 (copy-carvings) of the Kaibao edition. Hence the catalog number by the *Qianziwen* 千字文 ('*Thousand-character Text*') added to the wooden block of the *Brahma's Net Scripture*, i.e., *xian* 賢, is common to the Jin edition and the Second-edition KC, whereas the Pilu and Qisha editions as well as others have catalog number *ke* 剋 for the same text. In this way, the First-edition KC shares basic features with the Jin edition and the Second-edition KC, especially with the former when there is a difference in the format and the contents between the first and the second editions of KC. However, in some cases the First-edition is remarkably different than the Jin edition. One of typical examples is the *Brahma's Net Scripture*. In what follows, I will point out some remarkable features of this scripture in the First-edition KC in comparison with the Jin edition and the Second-edition KC.

### 2.1 The title of the text

The Second-edition KC has the title 梵網經盧舍那佛說菩薩心地戒品第十. The Jin edition also has the same title. On the other hand, the title in the First-edition KC is slightly different: 梵網經盧舍那佛說菩薩心地品第十 without “戒.”

### 2.2 Absence of preface and the difference in the format of woodblock

One of the noteworthy characteristics of the *Fanwang jing* in the First-edition KC is the format of the woodblock. The First-edition KC begins with the title of the text, followed by the translator's name, and finally the first line of the second fascicle of the text. On the other hand, the Jin edition has 16-line preface before the title. The Second-edition KC also has this same preface, but carved in twenty rather than sixteen lines. The pictures of the first sheet of the second scroll in the three canons are shown in APPENDIX of the present paper. I will give another examples of the difference of format by referring to the section where the verses 我今盧舍那 and so on start. It is clear that the prose part before the verses are carved in different formats in the three canons. In addition, some variant Chinese characters such as 花/華 and 匝/迺 are noticeable.

開心利便後得子三月一  
 善提樹下為此地上一切眾生凡  
 夫癡闇之人說我本盧舍那佛心中  
 初發心中常所誦一戒光明金剛寶  
 戒是一切佛本原一切菩薩本原佛  
 性種子一切眾生皆有佛性一切意  
 識色心是情是心皆入佛性我中當  
 當常有因故有當當常住法身如是  
 十波羅提木又出於世界是法戒是  
 三世一切眾生頂戴受持吾今當為  
 此大衆重說十無盡藏戒品一切衆  
 生戒本原自性清淨  
 我今盧舍那方坐蓮花臺周匝千花上  
 復現千釋迦一花百億國一國一釋迦  
 各坐菩提樹一時成佛道如是千百億  
 盧舍那本身千百億釋迦各接微塵衆  
 俱來至我前聽我誦佛戒甘露門則開  
 是時千百億還至本道場各坐菩提樹  
 誦我本師戒十重四十八戒如明日月  
 亦如瓔珞珠微塵菩薩衆由是成正覺  
 是盧舍那誦我亦如是誦汝新學菩薩  
 頂戴受持戒受持是戒已轉授諸衆生  
 諦聽我正誦佛法中戒藏波羅提木又  
 大衆心諦信汝是當成佛我是已成佛  
 常作如是信戒品已具足一切有心者

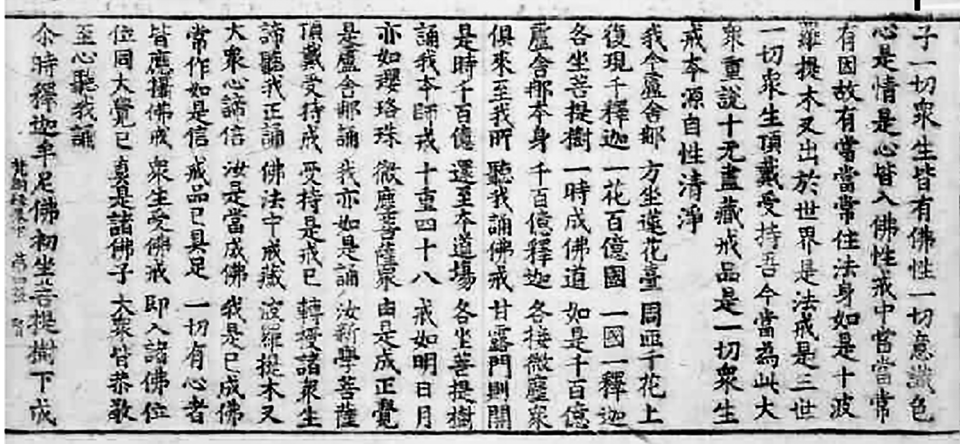
[The First-edition KC]

梵網經下 第四卷 賢聖等  
 明金剛寶戒是一切佛本原一切菩  
 薩本原佛性種子一切眾生皆有佛  
 性一切意識色心是情是心皆入佛  
 性戒中當當常有因故當當常住法  
 身如是十波羅提木又出於世界是  
 法戒是三世一切眾生頂戴受持吾  
 今當為此大衆重說十無盡藏戒品  
 是一切眾生戒本原自性清淨  
 我今盧舍那方坐蓮華臺周匝千花上  
 復現千釋迦一華百億國一國一釋迦  
 各坐菩提樹一時成佛道如是千百億  
 盧舍那本身千百億釋迦各接微塵衆  
 俱來至我所聽我誦佛戒甘露門則開  
 是時千百億還至本道場各坐菩提樹  
 誦我本師戒十重四十八戒如明日月  
 亦如瓔珞珠微塵菩薩衆由是成正覺  
 是盧舍那誦我亦如是誦汝新學菩薩  
 頂戴受持戒受持是戒已轉授諸衆生  
 諦聽我正誦佛法中戒藏波羅提木又  
 大衆心諦信汝是當成佛我是已成佛  
 常作如是信戒品已具足一切有心者  
 皆應攝佛戒衆生受佛戒即入諸佛位  
 位同大覺已真是諸佛子大衆皆恭敬

[The Jin edition]

Generally speaking, the First-edition and the Second-edition KC as well as the Jin edition have the same format: one line has 14 characters and one sheet has 23 lines.<sup>7</sup> This general format is found in the Jin edition. However, in the case of the *Fanwang jing*, due to the lack of the preface as well as some other reasons, the beginning of each sheet is different from the Jin edition. The beginning part of a sheet can easily be recognized the margin, indicating where the sheets were to be pasted together, and in which is usually written the name of the





[The Second-edition KC]

text, the sheet number, and the *Qianziwen* number (such as 梵網經卷下 第四張 賢). Comparing the the three editions in question from this point of view reveals that they were each printed using a woodblock of an entirely different format.

The format of the *Fanwang jing* in the First-edition KC is also remarkable in that it sometimes has irregular lines. The second scroll in the First-edition KC has 582 lines in total. They include 2 lines that have only 13 characters per line. It is remarkable that as many as 41 lines have 15 characters in a line, 11 lines have 16 characters, and there is even a line which has as many as 17 characters. For example, in the case shown on the right side, three arrows show lines with 15 characters and a big arrow signifies that 17 characters are carved in that line. There are 55 such irregular lines, nearly ten percent of the entire text.<sup>8</sup>

These differences cause the total sheet-length of the text to be different in the three edi-



<sup>7</sup> The Second-edition KC has an irregular style in the sense that the first *juan* of the *Fanwang jing* has 23 lines per sheet, while the second *juan* has 24 lines per sheet. The Second-edition KC normally has 23 lines per sheet. Although 24-line style is not entirely impossible and sometimes does take place, it is rather rare that the whole scroll has 24 lines per sheet as found in the second scroll of the present text. For other stylistic particularities of the Second-edition KC, see Kanayama (1982: 48).

tions, with 27 sheets in the First-edition KC, 27 sheets (including preface prior to the sūtra-text) in the Second-edition KC, and 28 sheets in the Jin edition.

The wood blocks used for the *Fanwang jing* in the First-edition KC were thus quite different than those used in the Jin edition. That is, in the case of the *Fanwang jing*, if the First edition is a copy-carving of the Kaibao edition, the Jin edition cannot be, and vice versa. In my limited knowledge, this kind of contradiction does not take place in the case of other texts; for example, in the case of the above-mentioned *Mulian wen jielü zhong wubai qingzhong shi*, the format of each printed sheet of the Jin edition and the First Korean edition is basically the same, and the same is true for the *Jingzhu*, the other text that I have examined in this regard. The basic identity of the woodblock format of the First-edition KC and the Jin edition in the above two texts is evident from the pictures shown in APPENDIX of this article. At this juncture, I do not have any clear explanation for why there should be such significant stylistic differences between the First-edition KC and the Jin edition regarding the *Fanwang jing*.

### 2.3 Absence of the final verses

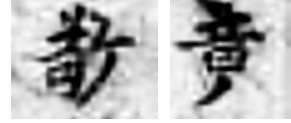
Another remarkable feature of the *Fanwang jing* in the First-edition KC is that it does not have the final 14 verses: 明人忍慧強能持如是法…願聞是法者疾得成佛道 (T24, 1009c19–1010a21). Omitting these verses, the end of the text in the First-edition KC runs 如佛花光七王品中說／(a blank line)／梵網經卷下. None of the other woodblock print editions share this format, but we do see it in some manuscript versions. Among the Dunhuang manuscripts I will mention later, BD00108.2, BD00125, and S5059 have the same style. Further, a manuscript kept in Ishiyama dera 石山寺 and a manuscript preserved in Shōsōin 正倉院 (Chūsō 中倉, no. 34) also lack the closing verses.<sup>9</sup> Similarly the oldest commentary, that by Zhiyi 智顗 and Guanding 灌頂, does not contain any commentary on these verses.<sup>10</sup> It would thus appear that the First-edition KC reflects an older recension. However it is noteworthy that some old manuscripts do have these verses. We therefore cannot necessarily conclude

<sup>8</sup> This is calculated by omitting exceptional lines for verses that have 15 characters per line in all editions. I am afraid that some irregular lines may have been overlooked in the present calculation, and the exact percentage of irregular lines may be slightly higher than what I have indicated.

<sup>9</sup> The second scroll of the sūtra preserved in Ishiyama dera was copied in the mid Heian period. It ends as follows: 如佛華光王七行品中說／(a blank line)／梵網經卷下. See Ishiyama (1985: 51, 192–193). The scroll kept in Shōsōin, Nara, runs 如佛華光王七行品中說／(a blank line)／梵網經盧舍那佛說菩薩心地戒品. See Shōsōin (1994: 243, 253). Further, for the historical significance of Shōsōin manuscript, Chūsō, no. 34, see Horiike (1968). In both cases, only the pictures of the beginning and the end of the scroll have been published, but it is evident that these manuscripts lack the final verses (T24, 1009c19–1010a21). Incidentally, according to the Taisho, it is only the Ming edition (i.e., the Jiaying 嘉興 edition) that has the wording 如佛華光王七行品中說 and all the other woodblock editions consulted in Taisho read 如佛花光王品中說, omitting 七行.

<sup>10</sup> See T40, 580a.

that they were absent in the original version of the *Fanwang jing*.<sup>11</sup>



#### 2.4 *quebi* 缺筆 (stroke-omitting)

The character *jing* 敬 appears thirteen times in the First-edition KC KC, and in each case the final stroke of the character has been omitted. Likewise, among the five usages of *jing* 竟, three leave out the final stroke, while the two are written in the normal way.<sup>12</sup> These two examples of *quebi* are based on the taboo words in the Northern Song tradition after the Kaibao edition.<sup>13</sup> Incidentally, the *Scripture of Brahma's Net* in the Second-edition KC and the Jin edition uses the above two letters in the normal way, without dropping a stroke. We may note at the same time that omission of a stroke is not always consistent in the First-edition KC. Thus the existence of *quebi* is noteworthy, but *quebi* as it is does not lead to any special conclusion because inconsistent appearance of *quebi* is attested in other canons too.<sup>14</sup>

#### 2.5 Variant readings

So far I have presented some basic features of the *Fanwang jing* in the First-edition KC from a general and stylistic point of view. The actual contents of the text also display some remarkable features, which I will discuss below (sections 4 and 5). First, however, I must explain the textual sources for earlier recensions of the *Fanwang jing*, which will be compared to the First-edition KC version.

### 3. Sources to investigate for earlier forms of the *Fanwang jing*

As I have pointed out previously (2010), a comparison between citations of the *Fanwang jing* preserved in other texts and the versions of the text found in various editions of the *Dazang jing* reveals slight but decisively important differences, and these differences can help to clarify the earlier forms of the *Fanwang jing*.<sup>15</sup> In what follows, I will briefly introduce those sources. For a careful consideration of the original form of the *Fanwang jing*, we

<sup>11</sup> For example, “#5. Tenpyō” is possessed of all of the final verses.

<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the word *jing* 鏡, phonetically the same as 竟, appears only on in the scroll and is written without omitting a stroke.

<sup>13</sup> *Hong* 弘 and *yin* 殷 were also taboo words in the Song dynasty, but they are not used in the second scroll of the *Fanwang jing*.

<sup>14</sup> For *quebi* in the Kaibao edition, see Chikusa (2000: 261–262). Examples of *quebi* in the Sixi edition are pointed out in Ozaki (2005). Further, the influence of such *quebi* is partially attested in the Second-edition KC, too, as listed in Lee (2000: e.g., 391 for 敬, 733 for 竟, and 488 for 殷).

<sup>15</sup> Funayama (2010: 180–183).



should consult at least thirteen important text as indicated below as #1 to #13.

[#1. P2196] The oldest source which retains an earlier form of the *Scripture of Brahma's Net* is the first scroll of the *Chujia ren shou pusa jie fa* 出家人受菩薩戒法卷第一 'The method for monastics to receive bodhisattva precepts, scroll one,' Pelliot chinois de Touen-Houang Ms. 2196 (see also Tsuchihashi 1980: 832–886). The ninth chapter of this scroll cites the ten grave offenses nearly exactly, though the text itself does not introduce those passages as explicit quotations.<sup>16</sup> The *Chujia ren shou pusa jie fa* is, moreover, definitely an authentic text. The colophon states the year of copying as 大梁天監十八年歲次己亥夏五月 勅寫 which means that it was copied in the fifth month of Tianjian era (519 CE) by the imperial edict of Emperor Wu (Wudi 武帝) of the Liang dynasty. There are also further circumstantial evidence suggesting that most probably the text itself was composed at this time.

[#2. Nakamura] The second oldest source is an incomplete manuscript of the *Fanwang jing* kept in the Shodō hakubutsukan 書道博物館 (Calligraphy Museum, Tokyo). It was originally included in a collection by Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 (1866–1943). Color pictures of the manuscript are published in Isobe 2005a, no. 50, pp. 272–277. The colophon says that it was copied in the second year of Wucheng 武成 (560 CE) in the Northern Zhou dynasty.<sup>17</sup> If we assume that this manuscript is not a fake, it is the oldest known manuscript of the *Fanwang jing*.<sup>18</sup> The extant portion of the text covers from the end of the fifth grave offenses (*boluoyi* 波羅夷; T24, 1004c10) to the end of the whole text; however, it does not in-

<sup>16</sup> Pelliot chinois 2196 includes another information about the *Brahma's Net Scripture*. For example, chapter one introduces earliest legends of the origin and the translation of the *Fanwang jing*, which I have discussed elsewhere.

<sup>17</sup> The colophon runs as follows: 梵網經心地品第十下卷 / 比丘僧歡釋敬寫供養 / 武成二年歲在(?)辰年三月廿□日□ (A blank square "□" signifies an illegible letter. The letter for 在 is not certain. Slash "/" shows the change of lines.) The scribe was probably Huanshi 歡釋 (I understand that *biqu seng* means 'bhikṣu' and 'monk' in this case; I don't take *seng huan* as a personal name). However, nothing is known about this person from other sources. Among previous studies which mention this colophon, Nakata (1970: 158) and Ikeda (1990: 130) read the passage as . . . 武成二年歲在辰年三月廿三日□, whereas Isobe (2005b: 342) reads 武成二年歲壬辰年三月廿三日□. Although these studies unanimously take the reading 廿三, I cannot confirm 三 from the published picture. Further, I don't take 壬辰 as preferable because the handwriting does not look like 壬 and because the year of 壬辰 is 572 CE, and not 560; the second year of Wucheng (武成二年) corresponds to 庚辰, and not 壬辰. However on the other hand, if we assume that the reading 歲在辰年 is correct, this has a serious problem: the combination of 歲在 and 辰年 (as indicating the year by using earthly branches or *shier zhi* 十二支 alone) is quite unusual. Furthermore, though none of the previous studies have pointed this out at all, the handwriting appears to differ between the final line which refers to the second year of Wucheng, and the preceding two lines. If this observation is correct, it would suggest that the copying date of 560 is not trustworthy. Regardless of its exact date, however, the contents of this copy show that it is one of the earliest versions of the *Fanwang jing*, as I discuss in the next footnote.

clude the final fourteen verses (T24, 1009c19ff.). There are also some phrases missing (about 23 letters) in the first light offense.<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that the significance of this material was entirely overlooked in my earlier paper (2010).

[#3. *Daoshi*] The third important material is found in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 ‘Grove of Pearls in the Garden of the Law’ compiled by Daoshi 道世 in the mid-seventh century. The eighty-ninth fascicle includes exact citations of the ten grave offenses of the *Fanwang jing*. This source provides us with concrete information about the text that was in circulation in the mid-seventh century Chang’an 長安, the capital of the Tang dynasty.<sup>20</sup>

[#4. Beijing] A Dunhuang manuscript no. BD01972.2 (収072) kept in Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中國國家圖書館. It is an incomplete manuscript copied in 7th–8th century according to a catalog.<sup>21</sup> The extant portion of the text covers from the middle of the sixth grave offenses (T24, 1004c14ff.) to nearly the end of the whole text (T24, 1009c18). It is not clear whether this manuscript included the final fourteen verses, because the final part of the

<sup>18</sup> I am not a specialist in Dunhuang or other manuscripts, but I don’t find a strong reason to doubt the authenticity of this manuscript except for the problem of the colophon as shown in the previous footnote. Even if we assume the possibility that the text is a modern (forged) copy, the contents of the text itself is certainly based on a very old manuscript. One of the most notable points is found in the description of the fifteenth minor transgression. “#2. Nakamura” and “#4. Beijing” are close to each other, yet this passage differs from the Taisho version (T24, 1006a10–13). They are indeed remarkably different from any of the woodblock editions. Yet they coincide with the sūtra-passage that Zhiyi and Guanding refer to in their commentary (T40, 576a–b). More specifically “#2. Nakamura” and “#4. Beijing” have the wording 使發菩提心, 發十心, 起金剛心 instead of 使發菩提心十發心十長養心十金剛心 in Taisho (T24, 1006a12–13); and the former conforms to the reading of the text consulted by Zhiyi. Especially Zhiyi’s statement “(the scripture) omits the term ‘the ten (minds) of long nurture’ and does not mention it” (略不說十長養, T40, 576b3–4) is noteworthy because this comment is not compatible with the wording in the canonical versions (which do mention 十長養心), but conforms to the text found in the earlier manuscripts, viz., “#2. Nakamura” and “#4. Beijing” (Cf. “#5. Tenpyō” is similar in terms of the omission of 十長養, but the wording is different: 使發菩提心十發趣心十金剛心). This would thus seem to prove the authenticity of the passages in “#2. Nakamura” and “#4. Beijing.” Full demonstration of this point will be a task of a separate research in the future.

<sup>19</sup> There is an omission in the description of the first light offense: words corresponding to T24, 1005b2–3 同見同行者應起承禮拜問訊而菩薩反生憍心慢心癡心 are missing in “#2. Nakamura.” The passage in the Taisho has variants in other canons as indicated in T24, p. 1009 footnotes 14 and 15. It is interesting that not only “#2. Nakamura” but also “#4. Beijing” lack these phrases. For another noteworthy difference discernible in these two manuscripts, see the previous footnote.

<sup>20</sup> For other passages of the *Fanwang jing* quoted in the *Fayuan zhulin*, see Funayama (2010: 185–190 and 211 n. 16).

<sup>21</sup> The catalog attached to the Guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuan yishu, vol. 27, Beijing, 2006, pp. 12–13.

manuscript is missing. There are some notes in the margins by a different hand; however the date of this addition is not clear. I will use the notation “#4” for the original part and “#4\*” (with an asterisk) for the corrections made in the margins; “<+ +>” signifies that expression is added in the margins, and “XXX” means that the words XXX, which appear in the original text #4, have been crossed out. By and large, “#2. Nakamura” and “#4. Beijing” share numerous variant readings that are different from those in other versions.

[#5. Tenpyō] The next oldest manuscript of the sūtra is one preserved as Important Cultural Property (*jūyō bunkazai* 重要文化財) in Kyoto National Museum 京都国立博物館 (no. B 甲64). Only the second scroll is entirely extant. The colophon states that it was copied in the ninth year of Tenpyō shōhō 天平勝寶 (757 CE). This Japanese manuscript is copied in black ink and additional remarks in red ink were added by a different hand (or hands) in a later period.<sup>22</sup> There are some notes in the margins added in black ink and of uncertain date. In my notation, #5 signifies the original text in black ink and #5\* with an asterisk signifies text as modified by the notes in the margins. When #5\* adds words, I will show them as “(+ +)” in the case when these are added in black ink, and as “[+ +]” in the case of red ink. “XXX” signifies that the original wording XXX in #5 is deleted by either black or red ink.

[#6. Fangshan] The Cloud Dwelling Monastery (Yunjusi 雲居寺) of Mt. Fang (Fangshan 房山), Beijing, keeps four versions of the *Fanwang jing* in the Stone Sutras (*shijing* 石經), among which the oldest one is Stone Sutra no. 71. Only the second fascicle is extant. The rubbing is published in Fangshan (2000: 479–481). Previous studies suggest that the inscription was made during either the Chang’an era (701–705) or the Tianbao era (742–755).<sup>23</sup>

[#7. Hōryūji] A manuscript preserved as Important Cultural Property in Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物館 (no. N-13). It is a Japanese manuscript copied in the 9th century; gold paint on indigo blue paper (紺紙金泥). This manuscript originally belonged to Hōryūji 法隆寺, Nara. The graphic image of this text is available in full color on the website (<http://www.emuseum.jp/>). This source was not mentioned in my paper (2010) because it was only recently made available.

[#8. K1] The First-edition KC woodblock print (ca. 1011–1087), preserved in Nanzenji 南禪寺, Kyoto. Needless to say, this is the main object of the present research.

<sup>22</sup> See Funayama (2010: 182, 191–192) for further details on this manuscript. Only the first and the last part of the manuscript is publicly available on the website (<http://www.emuseum.jp/>). My special thanks to Mr. Akao Eikei 赤尾栄慶, chief curator of Kyoto National Museum for allowing me a full access to this important manuscript. I also like to express my gratitude to Mr. Kajiura Susumu 梶浦晋, Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, for helping to arrange this.

<sup>23</sup> See also Funayama (2010: 181). The other three stone sūtras of the *Fanwang jing* in Fangshan is no. 674–675 (in the Liao-Jin period) and no. 1087 in the Ming.

[#9. Jin] The *Fanwang jing* in the Jin 金 edition (also called 金藏, 趙城藏, or 金藏廣勝寺本) is published in Vol. 24 of the *Zhonghua dazang jing* 中華大藏經. It is also available in Vol. 29 of the *Zhaocheng jin zang* 趙城金藏 (Beijing, 2008). This edition was made in the mid to the late 12th century (ca. 1149–1173) in Shu 蜀. Woodblock print.

[#10. K2] The Second-edition KC or the Second Carving (再雕) of the Korean edition. Completed in 1251 CE. Woodblock print.

[#11. Pilu] The Pilu canon or the Pilu dazang jing 毘盧大藏經 kept in the Kaiyuansi 開元寺, Fuzhou 福州. Woodblock print. Thus it is also called the Kaiyuansi edition. This is a canon made in early Southern Song dynasty (from early 12th cent. to 1151). In the case of the *Fanwang jing*, it is abbreviated as '宮' 'Palace' in the collation in Taisho.<sup>24</sup>

[#12. Sixi] The Sixi zang 思溪藏 edition in the Southern Song (later than the Pilu canon). Woodblock print. This is an edition preserved in the Fabaosi 法寶寺 (also called Fabaozifusi 法寶資福寺), Sixi, Huzhou 湖州. It is consulted in the collation in Taisho, abbreviated as 宋.

[#13. Qisha] The Qisha 磧砂 edition. Woodblock print. It is an edition from late Song and Yuan times, belonging to the same group as the Pilu and the Sixi editions.

In this way, we can make use of different types of information—in the form of early quotations, stone inscriptions, old manuscript canons, and woodblock canons—in order to get access to early versions of the text in question.<sup>25</sup> In addition, there are yet other manuscripts in the Dunhuang collections. However, there are at least two problems in dealing with Dunhuang manuscripts. First, the exact date of copying of each manuscript is often unclear and in this respect even the information given in modern catalogs is not entirely trustworthy. And second, the dissemination of the text is also questionable. We cannot say for certain whether the Dunhuang manuscript in question represents merely a local version or a more widespread version. Furthermore, my personal problem is that I have not checked all of Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Fanwang jing*. I will refer to some of very important Dunhuang manuscripts below to help to evaluate the sources shown above.

#### 4. Two recensions of the *Fanwang jing*

As I have demonstrated previously (2010), recensions of the *Fanwang jing* can be classified into two kinds: older and later recensions. The distinction between these recensions

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<sup>24</sup> The Imperial Palace edition is a mixture of the two different Chinese canons: the Pilu dazang jing 毘盧大藏經 (alias Kaiyuansi 開元寺 edition, early Southern Song) and Chongning Wanshou zang 崇寧萬壽藏 (alias Donchansi 東禪寺 edition, late Northern Song; 1080–1112). For the individual distinction of these two editions for each sūtra, see Zushōryō (1930).

<sup>25</sup> In this article I don't consult later woodblock print editions in Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties because they are not useful for examining earlier forms of the *Fanwang jing*, though they are important to trace later changes of the text.

can be noted from a formulaic expression found in the section on the ten *pārājika* (*boluoyi* 波羅夷). Here, I will take only the case of the ninth *pārājika* as a typical example (the other nine cases show basically the same distinction). In the passages #1–#13 below, I present the whole sentence of the ninth *pārājika* for each text, with differences where the same index number [1]–[4] corresponds to each other and difference is highlighted by underlined. **Face** indicates what I consider either the original or at least an older wording.

[#1. P2196] ll. 633–684—Type α

荳蘗若自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋業瞋法瞋緣<sub>[1]</sub>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sub>[2]</sub>，善根無諍之事，常生悲心<sub>[3]</sub>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解<sub>[4]</sub>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

(Note: The form 荳蘗 does not signify the original wording of the *Fanwang jing*. It is certainly a result of the intentional change of expression by the compiler(s) of #1.)

[#2. Nakamura]—Type α

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋業瞋法瞋緣<sub>[1]</sub>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sub>[2]</sub>，善根無諍之事，常生悲心<sub>[3]</sub>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解<sub>[4]</sub>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

[#3. Daoshi]—Type α

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋業瞋法瞋緣<sub>[1]</sub>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sub>[2]</sub>，善根無諍之事，常生悲心<sub>[3]</sub>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解<sub>[4]</sub>，是菩薩第九波羅夷罪。

[#4&#4\*. Beijing]—Type α

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋業瞋法瞋緣<sub>[1]</sub>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sub>[2]</sub>，善根無諍之事，常生悲心<sub>[3]</sub>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解 <+者+><sub>[4]</sub>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

[#5&#5\*. Tenpyō]—originally Type α in black ink, subsequently modified into Type β in red ink<sup>26</sup>

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋業→緣瞋法瞋緣→業<sub>[1]</sub>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sub>[2]</sub>，善根無諍之事，常生悲心<sub>[3]</sub>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人未[→求]悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解<sub>[4]</sub>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For more details concerning this distinction, see the explanation in Funayama (2010: 191–192).

<sup>27</sup> The notation 業[→緣] signifies that the original reading 業 in black ink was later modified into 緣 in red ink as a marginal note.



[#6. Fangshan] Type β

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋緣瞋法瞋業<sup>[1]</sup>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sup>[2]</sup>，善根無諍之事，常生悲心<sup>[3]</sup>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解者<sup>[4]</sup>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

[#7. Hōryūji] Type β

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋緣瞋法瞋業<sup>[1]</sup>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sup>[2]</sup>，善根無諍之事，常生悲心孝順心<sup>[3]</sup>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解<sup>[4]</sup>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

[#8. K1] Type α

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋業瞋法瞋緣<sup>[1]</sup>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sup>[2]</sup>，善根無諍之事，常生慈悲心<sup>[3]</sup>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解<sup>[4]</sup>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

[#9. Jin] Type β

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋緣瞋法瞋業<sup>[1]</sup>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sup>[2]</sup>，善根無諍之事，常生慈悲心孝順心<sup>[3]</sup>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解者<sup>[4]</sup>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

[#10. K2] Type β

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋緣瞋法瞋業<sup>[1]</sup>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sup>[2]</sup>，善根無諍之事，常生悲心<sup>[3]</sup>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解者<sup>[4]</sup>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

[#11. Pilu] Type α

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋業瞋法瞋緣<sup>[1]</sup>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sup>[2]</sup>，善根無諍之事，常生悲心<sup>[3]</sup>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀仗，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解者<sup>[4]</sup>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

[#12. Sixi] Type α

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋業瞋法瞋緣<sup>[1]</sup>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sup>[2]</sup>，善根無諍之事，常生慈悲心<sup>[3]</sup>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀仗，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解者<sup>[4]</sup>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

[#13. Qisha] Type α

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋業瞋法瞋緣<sup>[1]</sup>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sup>[2]</sup>，善根無諍之事，常生慈悲心<sup>[3]</sup>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀仗，

意猶不息, 前人求悔, 善言懺謝, 猶瞋不解<sub>[4]</sub>, 是菩薩波羅夷罪。

A careful comparison of each passage listed above reveals the distinction between the two recensions. One recension has the wording 瞋因瞋業瞋法瞋緣 (Type  $\alpha$ ) based on the formulaic expression X-因 X-業 X-法 X-緣 and this pattern is found in #1–#5, #8, and #11–#13. On the other hand, the wording 瞋因瞋緣瞋法瞋業 (Type  $\beta$ ) is found in #5\*, #6–#7 and #9–#10. This distinction is consistent throughout the ten *pārājikas* as summarized in the following table:<sup>28</sup>

Type $\alpha$ (#1, #2, #3, #4, #5, #8, #11, #12, #13)	Type $\beta$ (#5*, #6, #7, #9, #10)
～業～法～因～緣 (for the 1st–2nd <i>pārājika</i> ) ～因～業～法～緣 (for the 3rd–10th <i>pārājika</i> )	～因～緣～法～業 (for all the ten <i>pārājika</i> )

The *Fanwang jing* has also been extensively commented on since Sui dynasty, and at least fifteen commentaries were composed by the end of the Ming. Interestingly, many of older commentaries are based on the wording 瞋因瞋業瞋法瞋緣 (Type  $\alpha$ ). More precisely, as I have pointed out previously (2010), among commentators after the Sui dynasty, Zhiyi&Guanding 智顗 (538–597) & 灌頂 (561–632), Uijeok/Yiji 義寂 (7th cent.), Seungjang/Shengzhuang 勝莊, Taehyeon/Taixian 太賢 (fl. after Fazang) consulted Type- $\alpha$  texts, whereas Fazang 法藏 (643–712), Zhizhou 智周 (also as 知周, 668–723), Fashen 法詵 (718–778), Mingkuang 明曠 (777) as well as later commentators in the Ming and the Qing used Type- $\beta$  texts.<sup>29</sup> From this, it is evident that Type  $\alpha$  shows either the original text or at least an earlier form of the text, while Type  $\beta$  appeared around the beginning of the 8th century or slightly earlier.

Now let us focus on “#8. K1.” It is evident that the First-edition KC, unlike either the Jin or the Second-edition KC, is based on the Type- $\alpha$  tradition. It is not clear at all why the First-edition KC and the Jin edition, which as *fuke* (copy-carvings) of the Kaibao edition usually show the same readings, are completely different in this case. This is a problem and there is no definite answer to it at this juncture.

It is also worthy of attention that the following two important Dunhuang manuscripts show the reading of Type  $\beta$ :<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Except for #2, #4 and #8, each passage of the ten *pārājikas* is listed and compared in Table no. 1 in Funayama (2010: 185–191).

<sup>29</sup> Funayama (2010: 194–196).

BD00108.2 (黃008. 7th–8th cent.?)

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋緣瞋法瞋業<sub>[1]</sub>。而菩薩應生一切衆生<sub>[2]</sub>，善根无諍之事，常生悲心孝順心<sub>[3]</sub>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解者<sub>[4]</sub>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

BD00908 (昺008. 7th–8th cent.?)

若佛子，自瞋教人瞋，瞋因瞋緣瞋法瞋業<sub>[1]</sub>。而菩薩應生一切衆生中<sub>[2]</sub>，善根无諍之事，常生悲心<sub>[3]</sub>。而反更於一切衆生中，乃至於非衆生中，以惡口罵辱，加以手打，及以刀杖，意猶不息，前人求悔，善言懺謝，猶瞋不解者<sub>[4]</sub>，是菩薩波羅夷罪。

In both cases, the catalog considers these to date to the “7th–8th century.”<sup>31</sup> However, even granted that they were actually copied in the 7th century, they are unlikely to date prior to the mid-7th century, because our other sources from before this time, such as “#3. Daoshi” and the commentary by Zhiyi and his disciple Guanding, make reference only to a Type- $\alpha$  text. Moreover, if the 7th-century date suggested in the catalog is accurate, then BD00108.2 and BD00908 might be the earliest evidence for a Type- $\beta$  text, even earlier than Fazang’s commentary and [#6. Fangshan].

## 5. Various versions of the 47th light offense

The final point of discussion in the present article is the description of the 47th light transgression. This question is, moreover, related to questions concerning the changes that occurred in later times, as well as the sūtra’s formation itself. Since there is no corresponding passage in #1 and #3, the other ten cases are listed below in the same sequential order as in the previous section. Regarding the present issue, it is remarkable that the comparatively short passage of the 47th light offense has as many as twelve different variant readings (<sub>[1]–[12]</sub>):

[#2. Nakamura]=[#9. Jin]

若佛子，皆以信心受佛戒者<sub>[1]</sub>，國王<sub>[2]</sub>太子百官四部弟子，自<sub>[3]</sub>恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明

<sup>30</sup> I have not yet sufficiently examined the Dunhuang manuscript versions, but as far as I know at present, Dunhuang manuscripts usually belong to Type  $\beta$  in my classification. I am aware of the existence of only two exceptions, “#2. Nakamura” and “#4. Beijing.” For further information of the *Fanwang jing* in Dunhuang manuscripts especially regarding Stein collection, see Cho (2009), especially the list of manuscripts on the last page.

<sup>31</sup> See the catalog description presented as *Tiaoji mulu* 條記目錄 in the series of the *Guojia tushuguan zang Dunhuang yishu* 國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書. For this series, see also the previous footnote.

作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，破三寶之罪。而<sub>[12]</sub>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

[#4&#4\*. Beiing]=[#10. K2]=[#11. Pilu]

若佛子，皆以信心受佛戒者<sub>[1]</sub>，若國王<sub>[2]</sub>太子百官四部弟子，自<sub>[3]</sub>恃高貴，滅<sub>レ</sub>破佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，破三寶之罪。而<sub>[12]</sub>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

[#5&#5\*. Tenpyō]

若佛子，皆以信心受戒者<sub>[1]</sub>，□□□□子百<sub>[2]</sub>四部弟子，□□高貴，滅<sub>□□□□□□□□</sub><sub>[3]</sub>  
<sub>□</sub>法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不<sub>□</sub>造立形像佛塔經律，(+是+)<sub>[11]</sub>破三寶之罪，(+非法非律+)<sub>[9]°</sub> 而<sub>[12]</sub> (+菩薩+)故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。<sup>32</sup>

[#6. Fangshan]

若佛子，皆以信心受戒者<sub>[1]</sub>，若國王<sub>[2]</sub>太子百官四部弟子，自<sub>[3]</sub>恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，立統<sub>[4]</sub> 安籍<sub>[5]</sub> 比丘<sub>[6]</sub>地立，白衣高坐，廣行非法，是<sub>[11]</sub>作破三寶之罪。是菩薩受佛戒已，應敬事三寶。而<sub>[12]</sub>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

[#7. Hōryūji]

若佛子，皆以信心受佛戒已<sub>[1]</sub>，若國王<sub>[2]</sub>太子百官四部弟子，自<sub>[3]</sub>恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，立統<sub>[4]</sub> 官制衆<sub>[5]</sub> 使安籍<sub>[6]</sub> 記僧<sub>[7]</sub> 菩薩比丘<sub>[8]</sub>地立，白衣高座，廣行非法，如兵奴事主<sub>[9]</sub>而菩薩正應受<sub>[10]</sub>一切人供養。而反爲官走使，非法非律<sub>[11]</sub>若國王百官好心受佛戒者<sub>[12]</sub>莫作是<sub>[13]</sub>破三寶之罪。若<sub>[14]</sub>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

[#8. K1]

若佛子，皆以信心受戒者<sub>[1]</sub>，若國王<sub>[2]</sub>太子百官四部弟子，莫自<sub>[3]</sub>恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，立統<sub>[4]</sub> 制衆<sub>[5]</sub> 安籍<sub>[6]</sub> 記僧<sub>[7]</sub> 比丘菩薩<sub>[8]</sub>地立，白衣高座，廣行非法，如兵奴之法<sub>[9]</sub>而菩薩應受<sub>[10]</sub>一切人供養。而反爲官走使，非法非律<sub>[11]</sub>若國王百官好心受佛戒者<sub>[12]</sub>莫作是<sub>[13]</sub>破三寶之罪。而<sub>[14]</sub>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

<sup>32</sup> In the quotation, the notation 信 in a box signifies that the word 信 is partially damaged and therefore not fully legible. Likewise, “□” shows a illegible character. Words with “(+ +)” means that it was added in black ink.

[#9. Jin]=[#2. Nakamura]

若佛子，皆以信心受佛戒者<sup>[1]</sup>，國王<sup>[2]</sup>太子百官四部弟子，自<sup>[3]</sup>恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，破三寶之罪。而<sup>[12]</sup>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

[#10. K2]=[#11. Pilu]=[#4. Beijing]

若佛子，皆以信心受佛戒者<sup>[1]</sup>，若國王<sup>[2]</sup>太子百官四部弟子，自<sup>[3]</sup>恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，破三寶之罪。而<sup>[12]</sup>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

[#12. Sixi]=[#13. Qisha]

若佛子，皆以信心受戒者<sup>[1]</sup>，若國王<sup>[2]</sup>太子百官四部弟子，自<sup>[3]</sup>恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，立統制衆<sup>[4]</sup>，安籍記僧<sup>[5]</sup>，比丘菩薩<sup>[6]</sup>地立，白衣高座，廣行非法，如兵奴事主<sup>[7]</sup>。而菩薩應受<sup>[8]</sup>一切人供養。而反爲官走使，非法非律<sup>[9]</sup>。若國王百官好心受佛戒者<sup>[10]</sup>，莫作是<sup>[11]</sup>破三寶之罪。而<sup>[12]</sup>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

Accounting for the different versions of the above passage is quite difficult, and we must attend to the origin, development and corruption of the text. As I see it, it is extremely difficult to assume a simple line of the change of the text. Nevertheless it would seem that we can classify the different versions into two groups. One group contains an extensive description of *li tong* 立統 ('creating a monk-administrator' in phrase [4]) and *an ji* 安籍 ('making monastic register' in phrase [5]), as we see in #6, #7, #8 #12 and #13. The other group, #2, #4, #5, #9, #10 and #11, lacks these passages. Further, it seems possible to subdivide the first group based on whether or not they include a negative particle *mo* 莫 in phrase [11]. Among the above ten versions, #2 and #9 are exactly the same, and further are extremely close to #4, #10 and #11 (the only difference being of the character *ruo* 若 in phrase [2]). Likewise, in the second group, #12=#13 are very close to #7 and #8, with only slight difference in phrases [4], [5] and [7].

It is interesting to note that Fazang's commentary presupposes a text lacking the passages discussing *li tong*, *an ji* and so on. Moreover, this very point was questioned by the Song commentator Yuxian 與咸 (d. 1163 CE), who, as I have noted in another paper, expressed concern that Fazang's version was incomplete.<sup>33</sup> The same problem was raised in Gyōnen's 凝然 (1240–1321) commentary, the *Bonmō kaihō sho nisshu shō* 梵網戒本疏日珠鈔. Gyōnen points out there is a 64-character omission between 佛塔經律 and 破三寶之罪, probably indicating the omitted 64 Chinese characters as 立統官制衆，使安籍記僧，菩薩比丘地立，白衣高座，廣行非法，如兵奴事主。而菩薩正應受一切人供養。而反爲官走使，非法非律。若國王百官好心受佛戒者，莫作是(破三寶之罪)。<sup>34</sup> This coincides verbatim with



the expression shown in #7. Moreover, it is nearly the same with the passage in #12 and #13 except one slight difference in phrase [5], and also with the passage in #8 with difference in phrase [7].

The First-edition KC version of the above passage includes the section dealing with *li tong*, *an ji* and so forth, and is the first woodblock print edition attesting to this textual lineage. However, on the other hand, when we take this point into consideration together with the above-stated distinction between Type  $\alpha$  and Type  $\beta$  in the previous section, the relationship between the First-edition KC (i.e., #8) and other texts is very complicated. Namely, #7 and #8 belong to the same group in terms of the 47th light offense, whereas they fall into different groups based on the Type  $\alpha/\beta$  distinction.

One important question is whether the original form of the *Fanwang jing* did or did not make a reference to monastic administrators, monastic registers and so on forth. Mochizuki Shinkō claimed that the original text must have included this.<sup>35</sup> However, his argument is not well substantiated. Indeed there are good reasons for thinking that Mochizuki was wrong, as early texts such as #2 and #4 do not include these elements.<sup>36</sup> Nor does the oldest commentary, that by Zhiyi and Guanding, explicitly refer to them either.<sup>37</sup> This strongly suggests the possibility that the original *Fanwang jing* did not contain these passages. In other words, it seems most probable that the original form of this sūtra was either #2=#9 or #4=#10=#11. However, fully establishing this conclusion will require further research. For the moment I merely want to raise this question because it is intimately related to the question of the date and purpose of the composition of the *Fanwang jing* itself. As pointed out by Mochizuki, this passage has a parallel in the *Renwang jing* 仁王經 ‘Scripture of Humane Kings.’ In that text the reference to *li tongguan* 立統官 and *an ji* 安籍 has generally been considered to be an allusion to the control of Buddhism after the persecution actually carried out in the Northern Wei dynasty.<sup>38</sup> I have also discussed this passage in the context of the formation of the *Fanwang jing* in one of my previous papers.<sup>39</sup> However, such previous studies, including

<sup>33</sup> See Funayama (2010: 207). Cf. Referring to Fazang’s commentary, Yuxian states as follows: 藏疏經本，從「佛塔經律」下，即接「是破三寶之罪」，中間闕脫六十三字。不審古有此本耶，寫者之脫耶。(Z1.59.4, 318, verso, b). What is meant here is that the text assumed in Fazang’s commentary was . . . 佛塔經律，是破三寶之罪. Note that Fazang’s text had 是. However, we cannot confirm this reading in the extant version of Fazang’s commentary because it does not have full quotation of sutra passages. The extant version has a reference to the wording as 總結云破三寶也 from which we cannot confirm the reading 是破三寶之罪.

<sup>34</sup> T62, 260b. These sixty-four Chinese characters are found in #7. Namely, regarding the 47th minor offense the text Yuxian consulted was identical with the Hōryūji manuscript. On the other hand, the passages in #12=#13 has only sixty-one Chinese characters. The omitted three Chinese characters are 官 ([4] 立統制衆 vs. 立統官制衆), 使 ([5] 安籍記僧 vs. 使安籍記僧), and 正 ([8] 菩薩應受 vs. 菩薩正應受).

<sup>35</sup> Mochizuki (1946: 466–468).

my own, assume that the original form of the *Fanwang jing* had a reference to *tong* 'monk-administrator' and *ji* 'monastic register' and that the passage as found in #9–#11 without such a reference is merely a result of later omission. However, it is by no means clear that we should assume this.

It is also interesting that some significant manuscripts from Dunhuang show yet other traces of textual change regarding the 47th light offense as follows:<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> One of the most noteworthy arguments presented by Mochizuki (see previous footnote) is that Zhiyi's commentary on the *Fanwang jing* contains a citation of the original text including the line “立統官制衆，使安籍記僧” (Also note that this is not the same as the variants in the Sixi edition). However Mochizuki did not clarify which edition of Zhiyi's commentary he consulted, but it is certainly not the edition in Taisho because Zhiyi's commentary in Taisho does not contain this citation. Rather it would appear that Mochizuki used one of the following two editions. One is the Japanese edition of Zhiyi's commentary, which was published in the first year of Jōkyō 貞亨 (1684 CE) and subsequently revised in the third year of Genroku 元禄 (1690 CE). This edition is kept in universities such as Otani University and Ryukoku University. The other is the edition used in the Zokuzō kyō. It has a reference to the first year of Jōkyō at the end of the text (but it does not refer to the version done in the third year of Genroku). Presumably using one of these editions of Zhiyi's commentary, Mochizuki concluded that the citation of the sūtra itself was made by Zhiyi himself. This, however, is not correct. The colophon in the 1684 CE edition explicitly states that the sūtra-passages were added at that time for readers' convenience. Furthermore, a careful examination of the sūtra-passages evidently reveal that they belong to Type β in my classification (see section 3 above), whereas Zhiyi himself made a commentary on a Type α text (see also footnote 18 above). More concretely, the sūtra-passage of the 47th minor offense is identical with the passage of #7 (Hōryūji); hence it also conforms to Gyōnen's preference. In conclusion, we can safely say that the citation of the sūtra-passages in this version in question, including the version in the Zokuzō kyō, has nothing to do with the original form of Zhiyi's commentary. Therefore, Mochizuki's claim in this respect is philologically wrong. Zhiyi himself mentions neither *tongguan* 統官 nor *ji* 籍 of monastics in his commentary.

<sup>37</sup> The commentary by Zhiyi and Guanding has clear references to the words “若國王,” “道立形像” (i.e., a corruption of 造立形像) and “經律” in T40, 579c but there is no clear explanation of the passages such as “立統” and “安籍”; it jumps to the elucidation of “故作.”

<sup>38</sup> 『仁王般若波羅蜜經』卷下：後五濁世，比丘比丘尼四部弟子，天龍八部，一切神王，國王大臣太子王子，自恃高貴，滅破吾法，明作制法，制我弟子比丘比丘尼不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造作佛像形佛塔形，立統官制衆，<sup>[4]</sup>安籍記僧<sup>[5]</sup>。比丘地立，白衣高坐，兵奴爲比丘<sup>[7]</sup>，受別請法，知識比丘，共爲一心親善比丘，爲作齋會求福，如外道法。都非吾法。當知爾時正法將滅不久。(T8, 833b) For the interpretations of this passage, see Mochizuki (1946: 434–436) and Funayama (1996: 71–73).

<sup>39</sup> Funayama (1996: 73–74).

<sup>40</sup> I chose the following passages from among comparatively old manuscripts as showing characteristic variant readings. Note that there are more examples of similar manuscripts I do not mention here.

BD00883 (盈083. 7th–8th cent.?)

若佛子，皆以信心受戒者<sup>[1]</sup>，若國王<sup>[2]</sup>太子百官四部弟子，莫自恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，破滅三寶之罪。而<sup>[10]</sup>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

BD01025 (辰025. 8th cent.?)

若佛子，皆以信心受戒者<sup>[1]</sup>，若國王<sup>[2]</sup>太子百官四部弟子，莫自恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，立統官制衆<sup>[4]</sup>，使安籍記僧<sup>[5]</sup>，比丘菩薩<sup>[6]</sup>地立，白衣高座，廣行非法，如兵奴事主<sup>[7]</sup>，而菩薩正應受<sup>[8]</sup>一切人供養。而反爲官走使，非法非律<sup>[9]</sup>。若國王百官好心受佛戒者<sup>[10]</sup>，莫作是<sup>[11]</sup>破三寶之罪。若<sup>[12]</sup>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。<sup>41</sup>

BD00125 (黃025. 9th cent.)

若佛子，皆以信心受佛正戒<sup>[1]</sup>，若國王<sup>[2]</sup>太子百官四部弟子，自恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，立統官制衆<sup>[4]</sup>，安籍記<sup>[5]</sup>，比丘菩薩<sup>[6]</sup>地立，白衣高座，廣行非法。正應受<sup>[8]</sup>一切人供養。而反爲官走使，非法非律<sup>[9]</sup>。若國王百官好心受佛戒<sup>[10]</sup>，不作<sup>[11]</sup>破三寶之罪。若<sup>[12]</sup>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

S3123

若佛子，皆以信心受戒者<sup>[1]</sup>，若王<sup>[2]</sup>太子百官四部弟子，自恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律，立統官制衆<sup>[4]</sup>，使安籍記僧<sup>[5]</sup>，比丘菩薩<sup>[6]</sup>地立，白衣高座，廣行非法，如兵奴之法<sup>[7]</sup>。菩薩正應受<sup>[8]</sup>一切人供養。而反爲官走使，非法非律<sup>[9]</sup>。若國王百官好心持佛戒者<sup>[10]</sup>，莫作是<sup>[11]</sup>破三寶之罪。而<sup>[12]</sup>故作破者，犯輕垢罪。

S5059

若佛子，皆以信心受戒者<sup>[1]</sup>，若國王<sup>[2]</sup>太子百官四部弟子，莫自恃高貴，破滅佛法戒律，明作制法，制我四部弟子，不聽出家行道，亦復不聽造立形像佛塔經律。若國王百官好心受佛戒時<sup>[9]</sup>，莫作此<sup>[10]</sup>破三寶之罪。而<sup>[11]</sup>故作破法者，犯輕垢罪。

Among these examples, BD00883, BD01025 and S5059 suggest that a new type of evolution of the text was realized by adding a negative particle *mo* 莫 to phrase [3]. The variants in BD01025 and S3123 provide us with additional information concerning the existence of the Type #7 text (see the phrases [4] and [5]). Further, the variant reading [7] of S3123, namely,

<sup>41</sup> The notation 莫自恃高貴 in phrase [3] signifies that the scribe first wrote 莫自恃高貴 and the negative character *mo* 莫 was subsequently deleted (probably by a different hand) in the right margin. Likewise, the characters 立統官制衆...莫作是 are deleted in the margin.

如兵奴之法, is common to #8. In this way, the otherwise unusual wording in the First-edition KC is partially seen in some Dunhuang manuscripts.

## 6. Concluding remarks

Scholars have recognized the importance of the First-edition KC for a long time, but until 2010, it was not generally possible to consult it. Indeed though it had been an object of research for specialists in Chinese woodblock canons for a long time, it was not a text for ordinary use. Thanks to Tripitaka Koreana Knowledgebase, however, a ground-breaking change in research conditions took place in 2010, and we are now privileged to use nearly all extant texts in the First-edition KC on the website. This means that from now on anyone who wishes to make a critical edition of a given Chinese Buddhist text will be required to collate variant readings of the first edition; it is truly an indispensable source for understanding the textual history of Chinese Buddhist texts.

The First-edition KC has immeasurable significance as a copy of the lost Kaibao edition, the earliest woodblock canon in China. However, woodblock prints were preceded by the long manuscript age. In this sense, it is presumably true that even the earliest woodblock does not always reflect the original form of a text. In other words, the First-edition KC needs to be taken from two points of view: first, it is significant as the oldest extant woodblock canon; but second, it should be taken as a result of manifold changes—sometime even including corruptions—that occurred throughout the manuscript age.

In this paper, I have attempted to explore some general characteristics of the First-edition KC, on the one hand, and some problems specific to the *Fanwang jing*, on the other. One of the problems is the difference in format between the Jin edition and the first Korean edition, the two versions that are usually considered to both copies of the same Kaibao edition. In the case of the *Fanwang jing*, however, the First-edition KC is quite different from the Jin edition. Regarding this point, I have no definitive way of explaining this difference.<sup>42</sup> Some people may suspect that the woodblock edition I abbreviated as K1 in this article is not the First-edition KC but something else; for example, an unknown local edition from Korea, made after the First-edition KC. We cannot entirely reject this possibility. However, there are at least two

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<sup>42</sup> Regarding this, we can also assume the possibility that the woodblock of the Kaibao edition was emended later as *buke* 補刻. According to Wang Ding (2008: 79–80), there are some cases of errors in the first woodblock of the Kaibao edition that were improved later as found in the Kaibao edition of the *Shisong lü* 十誦律, fascicle 46. Likewise, evidence for emendation of the woodblock is detected in the Jin edition too; for example, compare the carving style of “比丘作佛事” (3b. Jin edition) with those of “比丘佛作” (3a. First-edition KC) and “比丘作佛事” (3c. Second-edition KC) in Appendix of the present paper. In the case of the *Fanwang jing*, however, the difference of format between woodblocks of the three editions is beyond the normal case of *buke*.

points we should consider about this woodblock. First, it is different from both Jin edition and the Second-edition KC, yet it has 14 characters per line. This means that so-called K1 certainly belongs to the Kaibao lineage. And second, the variant readings I indicated in this article reveal that this woodblock print edition reflects an older reading than the Jin edition. Hence it is difficult to see what this edition could be if not the first edition of KC.

Finally, the problems encountered when considering the first edition include the often numerous individual variant readings, such as those that I have remarked in the 47th minor offense.

I hope that the questions presented in this paper lead to a new phase of research in the future. At this juncture I want to leave most these problems open for further research, instead of giving an overly-hasty conclusion.

In this paper, I have only taken up a few matters pertaining to the ten *pārājikas* and one very problematic case in the 47th minor transgression. A careful examination of the other portions of the text awaits a future research. Anyway, under current circumstances it seems possible to assume as a working hypothesis that the *Fanwang jing* in the first edition is a very special case and it is quite different from other texts in the First-edition KC. Future research on different texts of the First-edition KC will clarify whether this assumption holds good or not. I expect that the problems I have pointed out in this article will be helpful for a better understanding of not only the First-edition KC itself but also the history of the Buddhist canon in East Asia.

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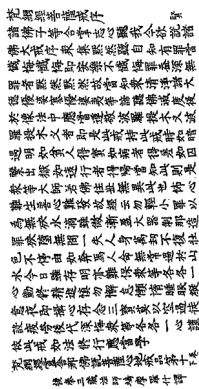
[The original draft submitted to the editorial board of the *Zinbun* on July 30, 2012, and proofread on June 3, 2014, and March 5, 2015]

APPENDIX: Comparison between the formats of the First-edition KC, the Jin edition and the Second-edition KC in the *Fanwang jing*, the *Jinghuazi* and the *Five Hundred Questions*

THE FANWANG JING (SCRIPTURE OF BRAHMA'S NET) IN THE FIRST EDITION ...



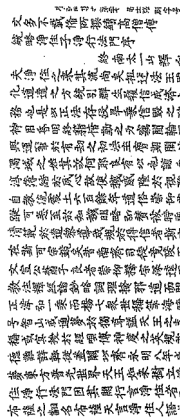
[1a. First-edition KC (*Fanwang jing*)]



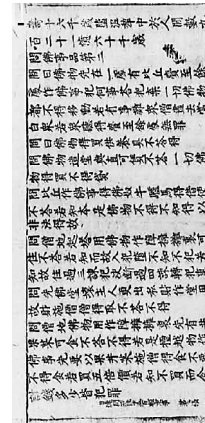
[1b. Jin edition (*Fanwang jing*)]



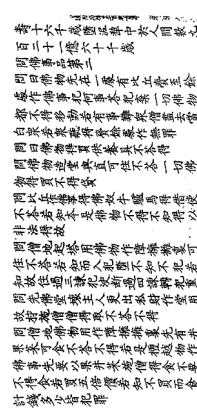
[2a. First-edition KC (*Jinghuazi*)]



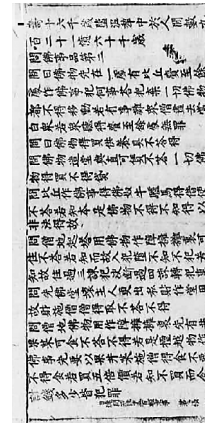
[2b. Jin edition (*Jinghuazi*)]



[3a. First-edition KC (*Mulian's 500 Questions*)]



[3b. Jin edition (*Mulian's 500 Questions*)]



[3c. Second-edition KC (*Mulian's 500 Questions*)]

